11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

horse to the bride; one horse was given to Wooden Ears who had been Charging Buffalo's partner in the Horn Society, and who, if one can trust custom, had made an appropriate gift because of that relationship; and the finest saddle horse was handed over to John Bruce in exchange for a nice large house that Charging Buffalo wished to occupy.

The more general society give-aways made demands particularly on the rich, but these demands were rarely resented. Irregular, and usually not onerous, they enhanced the prestige of the giver. In no way did they raise the status of those who received. Requests for special objects could, it is true, only be denied with loss of face, but no Blood would hesitate to circumvent expectation by resorting to the simple device of "shaming," well known long before the reserve period.[122] One example will suffice. In 1905 Mountain Pine led a fine buckskin horse to the corral. Crow Chief admired the animal saying, "I wish I owned that horse." Mountain Pine answered, "You can have it if you face to the east and cry 'Mama, I wish I owned such a horse.'" He then handed over the horse while the bystanders laughed heartily. It is not surprising that under these circumstances, Crow-Chief refused to accept it.[123]

Relationships within the age-grade societies were still a matter of group concern, and great efforts were made by the wealthier members to be "brotherly" and back up the poor. The methods employed were frequently devious. When Ghost Moon brazenly demanded a new saddle from Moose Dung, a poor member of Middle Bear's society, the latter felt impelled to satisfy the request to save his *taka's* face, without, however, benefiting him more directly.[124]

In these years of economic expansion, old ways of spending were exaggerated. Favorites were showered with expensive gifts and raiment. A saddle costing $80–$100, silver spurs, special boots, finely beaded blankets, all might be lavished on a small and favored son. He was initiated to many ceremonial objects for which large payments were made not only in horses, but in fine goods. As the herds grew these payments became more ostentatious. The Long Time Pipe alone sold several times for 100 horses.

Nor was it enough for a prosperous Blood to have one favorite. Many had two or more. Pointed Plume said he wanted to "treat his two boys alike." Others frankly stated they wanted to show how rich they were. To all it gave great satisfaction to add to prestige by conspicuous spending.

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[122] There are many ways in which shaming could be used to emphasize wealth differences. For instance, at a formal smoke where bundles were named and prices given, "Those having a long list were cheered, while those having a short one were ridiculed." (Wissler, *Ceremonial Bundles*, p. 276).

[123] Biele, Field Notes.

[124] *Ibid.*

practice was to give first to the older because "they would not live so long as the younger." 000

This system of rank and seniority had its repercussions on personal security. Even though blood bonds were considered extremely stable, cases occur where there was open conflict between brothers. Moreover, a younger brother was a potential threat to an older brother whom he might surpass. Many Swans' war record excelled that of his older brother, and people taunted the brother mildly on this score. Indeed, there was personal humiliation, for the great family name of Many Swans, borne by the older brother, was taken away by the father and given to the younger brother. The older brother also relinquished the chieftainship of the band in favor of the younger. Thus age was no guarantee against being excelled by a younger man even within one's own family. Loss of one's wives was another threat. In fact, judging by the severe and brutal treatment accorded an unfaithful wife at the hands of her husband, unfaithfulness seems to have been an almost intolerable personal affront. Yet we have instances where the co-respondent was a younger brother. The fact that the levirate did occur in some cases legalized this relationship but only after the death of the older brother. As if to prevent even this possibility, a male addressed his older brother's wife as "mother," and she replied "son." 561 593 578 [558] [553] [622] [558] [684] [587]

Thus if fraternal conflict were possible, the only security in a system of rank is in the group of those with identical rank. Indeed, we have observed that a male cousin, step-brother or twin of the same age was not called "brother" but "comrade." This is the only reciprocal term in Northern Blackfoot kinship terminology with the exception of the remote parents of one's siblings' spouses and the parents of ones' children's spouses (*nitax'-soku'*). The relationship of one comrade to another might be extremely close, implying a sharing of wealth, of sexual gratification and of recreation. Though comrades exchanged gifts, there was no sign of competition between them in out-doing the other in generosity. With comrades one's wife was safe, for with their wives one might have easy, ribald relations, though no sexual intercourse. The children of comrades were called "my children," and adoption of one or more of them at the death of a comrade was not uncommon. The age societies supported this solidarity further, for through the hierarchy of these societies one passed with the same group. Indeed, it was not uncommon for comrades to join together to help a poor comrade by paying for his membership. Then as a member of an age group one could vent his feelings against those of the next older age grade by jeering at their accomplishments, possibly sublimating some of the repressed rancor occasioned by their imperious authority. 561 602 571 [601] [597] [575] [578] [182]

Here we see that the relation of male to male was one of rank based on sen- [152] [154]

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot

a man reside in his wife's father's camp or his own father's camp, but he might follow a sibling who lived in the camp of this sibling's in-laws or this sibling's brother-in-law's camp which might be located elsewhere. We have cases of poor men "without any relatives" moving into the camp of a chief and being welcomed despite the absence of blood ties. There was considerable freedom of movement on this basis, and the man usually camped where he was furnished with the greatest economic advantages. 591

Consideration on the basis of terminology alone suggests a patrilineal weighting. A male derived no prestige from the line of females beginning with his sister who called him "older brother." We might regard these females as being sent to another line of males where they would honor all whom they called "grandparent." In keeping with this emphasis was the early marriage of daughters who thus went to live with their husbands before strong personal attachments were formed with their brothers. Substantiating this was the remoteness of a man's children to his sister. Also, as we have seen, honor was accorded the son-in-law by the daughter's parents rather than the daughter. Weighing against such a lineal emphasis, was the important relationship of son-in-law to son and to the parents themselves which firmly united the group. Furthermore, the phrasing of wedlock was that a wife "brought the husband children." In these words Blackfoot underscored cooperation between husband and wife rather than the alternative possibility that the rôle of a wife was solely bearing children for him. The children were his only for the duration of the marriage contract, since they normally followed the mother to her new residence after separation. Terminologically the cooperation of man and woman to produce children may be also seen in the fact that a man calls the children of his wife's sister, even though married to another man, "son" and "daughter." 601 602 601 581 593 [562] [586] [601]

Perhaps a stronger argument for patrilineality was the dramatization by a son of his relationship to his father. In addition to the important position of the father in designating kinsmen, this showed itself in four principal ways. First, we have observed among our informants an eagerness to relate the tales of their father's prowess, a tendency to glorify him as a man great in battle, wealth and generosity. Where one informant's father had disgraced himself by presuming to be a chief when he had no claim to this authority, the informant seized upon his paternal grandfather as a proper alternative to glorify. Another indication of this dramatization is the frequent statement of an informant that he was a favored child. Most of our informants recognized the disadvantage of being favored children since the pampering accorded such a child usually misfitted him for a self-sufficient life after the father's death when many of the favored children went bankrupt. Nevertheless, informants persisted in stating that they were favored children. The desirability of being a favored child was, first, that one's own 593 554 601 [558] 593 858 554

177 insures that the improvident, aged, disabled or sick will be provided
184 with the minimum requirements of existence. This relatively private
183 form of generosity is relieved somewhat by welfare and charitable
571 sources but often these are not enough and some people need the help of family and neighbors to make it through the winter. In some cases those on welfare may be considered to be better off than others and their grown children turn to them for help that is seldom refused.

177 Public generosity covers the various "give-away" ceremonies
184 mentioned in earlier chapters. This giving is largely a reciprocal
183 gift exchange among peers. No strict accounting is kept of gifts and
431 repayments, but the reciprocity is recognized and informants joke about giving blankets to a visiting friend so they can get them back next year when they visit the other reservation. Private generosity by all and public display by a few are forms of generosity that are expected and are controlled ultimately by expressions of public opinion.

[626] Many people act generously and spontaneously because it is the right thing to do; others give more begrudgingly because of fear of social
[558] disapproval. A person who fails to provide what is expected is called "stingy," and undisputed stinginess causes a person to lose standing within the Indian-oriented group. People do not take chances that might start such talk. A white official told of an incident that sounded probable even though its authenticity could not be checked,

> A woman asked him to order a young man out of her house. He had moved in with the family and was just hanging around, eating their food, and making no effort to help out. When the official suggested that she was the one to tell him to leave, she replied that she could not do that. But it would be all right if he would come and do it for her: "Only don't tell that I said for you to do it."

434 shops and second-hand stores. One of our interpreters sold a radio
432 to a neighbour to obtain money for gifts at the Sun Dance. The Sun Dance vower's house, when visited before the Sun Dance, was
[437] adequately furnished, but afterwards it was nearly empty. Fortunately, it was not necessary to convert all of the furniture into cash; some pieces were directly converted into services at the ceremony.

434 A second and more frequent means of obtaining money is by
431 soliciting one of those kinsmen who is socially obligated to mutual
602 sharing. This expedient is of limited usefulness in acquiring cash, although almost any relative will share food and some clothing.
[593] These reciprocal obligations apply particularly to brothers, brothers-
[607] in-law, and age mates. However, if the borrower is poor and the
[561] loaner wealthy, repayment is not expected. Control over asking too frequently for assistance is the Blackfoot emphasis on the virtue of
[558] giving rather than receiving. Just as a middle-class white, failing to return his social invitations, would find himself ignored, so Blackfoot failure to reciprocate gifts means loss of prestige; and gifts, like white parties, are most frequent among equals in status.

435 As a result of all this scarcity, currency has increased in value.
436 At ceremonies a dollar in currency is considered the equivalent of a blanket worth several times that amount in a local store. As previously mentioned, only one Blackfoot farmer pays regular cash wages to his employees, the remainder making only occasional and
124 irregular payments. Part of the willingness of Indians to act as informants may be attributed to the desire for cash.

437 Two systems of transaction result from the scarcity of money. Cash is used mainly for transactions with whites and seldom passes from one Blackfoot to another. Within the reserve, however, all transferable property circulates; horses, articles of furniture, clothing, and bedding move about fairly freely on the reserve and to Indians of neighbouring reserves as well. This is a continuation and extension of the pre-reserve economy, for which there were many possible means of distribution. There is little development of production to satisfy the demands of this internal economy. Alone of Blackfoot products horses are of value here, but the horse raisers tend to prefer to change horses into cash rather than into sacred objects or other items of intra-reserve value.

438 As we shall see more clearly in our study of distribution, the flow
431 of chattels through the reserve is not a lively one. The most valuable
[425] assets that a man has come from the agency via trust funds and are
[439] non-transferable. Thus it is usually the smaller and less valuable

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
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takes the woman out-of-doors and proceeds with the painting. If properly done, he spits a piece of turnip into her mouth.

The woman is then conducted back to her husband. As they come near the meeting place, the conductor gives a faint signal, like scouts on the warpath. Then he announces the name of the husband after which the woman enters and spits the piece of turnip into her husband's mouth. This turnip is evidence that she was properly painted. She then squats over a smudge.

Some of the women are refused by the fathers, because they themselves are not of good repute or because their husbands are not worthy men. In any case, it is a disgrace to the husband not to have his wife properly painted.

Our informant never went through this painting ceremony. Some time after joining, a woman came one night and kicked on one of the tipi poles saying that she came to be painted. He told her that he could not because he had not received the necessary instructions. She then returned to her husband, who sent her to another man.

Fig. 23. Sketch of Standards used by the Horns. a A yellow painted Staff about seven feet long; b Staff carried by the mounted Members. Drawn by an Informant.

The writer has a statement from Strangling-wolf that the members wear no clothes and paint the entire body red. Some wear plumes at the backs of the head, others wear war-bonnets of several different forms. The lances, however, are the main objects. They are usually made of pine and cut thirty hands long. The leader's lance is five hands longer. The hook is made of birch and tied with sinew. Around the places where the lance is to be held, bladders are wrapped, because no one should touch any of the other parts. Nine eagle tail-feathers are used for each lance. The wrappings are of otter and swan skin. These are kept in bundles, but new sticks are required for each ceremony, the old ones being offered to the sun (Fig. 19). A These are provided by certain men and the fee is a horse in each case. When the stick is cut, prayers are offered and some tobacco left at the stump.[1] The whole camp must keep very quiet while the stick is being prepared. The curved portion is made and then bound on to the end of the staff. Then the whole is painted red, after which the wrappings and feathers are added.

There are three kinds of bonnets: the straight-up kind, one with horns, and one without.

[1] Flat-tail, a Piegan, once cut and prepared a kit-fox lance for the writer. He performed the ceremony properly, but later met with misfortune and death. It was common talk that all this resulted from his meddling with the power of the kit-fox.

A. [See Category 116, p. 411--Analyst]

a mock conversation with himself to make our foes think that we were all there. Then we would all crawl out and try to pass between the fires when the Crows were not in sight. We were driven back each time. They had us so completely hemmed in that a hundred of them seemed to spring up in whatever direction we started for. After half of the night had passed, I thought of an old trick and decided to give it a try. I set fire to a big pine tree, which made a very dense black smoke. The prevailing breeze kept the smoke in a large black cloud down close to the ground. Keeping well within the smoke, I led them out, crawling past our enemies, and we reached the bushes unseen. I expect they watched our burning tree a long time before they guessed its purpose. 159 726

We arrived safely at our main camp, which was at Bear Paw Mountain, and learned that the man in the crevice had arrived some time before us and told the chiefs of our plight. The chiefs had decided to wait 4 days for us. They said that no besieged party could hold out for more than 3 days without water and little ammunition. But during those three days we escaped, travelled home and arrived on the 4th. The people were very angry with Big Snake for making such a bungle of the expedition. All the chiefs accused him of cowardness and bad judgment; his life was even threatened. I was given much praise for having saved the lives of the party. My coat was full of bullet and arrow holes, as were also the garments of many of the others. After the escape, the first time I unbraided my hair a big lock of it came loose in my hand; it had been cut off by a Crow bullet. You can judge how busy we were defending ourselves when I did not notice that bullet. 159 727 [558] [555]

[p.245-B]

dark suit and white shirt, with a clean cowboy hat or a slouch cap over his pure white hair. 793 [291]

Apikayi was the son of old Black Plume and one of his wives, Black Horn, who had a number of white relatives. His full brothers include Dick Soup. His father's grandmother was a noted doctor. She used to apply a special skunk skin to the afflicted area of a patient's body. If the skin came alive, the person would survive and she would begin to doctor. If it did not come alive, she would know there was no hope. When Apikayi was young he was a very sickly child, so his great-grandmother used her sacred skin to check him. It came alive, so she told his parents that he would grow to become an adult. Later she gave him the skin, as well as the name.[A] He used to tie it to his braids, when he still had them. [144] 793 755 [237] [763] [551] [553] [301]

Apikayi was once a leader of our sacred ceremonies, but not this past winter, due to conflicts with some of our Old People. He has often been criticized for mixing up the songs of various ceremonies, and for leading ceremonies that were not actually transferred to him. He and several relatives sold their sacred Bundles, which made him unpopular. His active participation in various other religions added to his unpopularity. Here is what he says about all that: 793 558 156 [425]

I haven't quit going to our ceremonies for good, even though the People are saying that I have given up the Old Ways. That isn't true. I once had a dream that told me I would grow old by them. I was praying very hard and I left my body. I went far into the Above. There was a yellow-painted tipi there and I was invited in. The people in the tipi told me that I would live to be a hundred by keeping up my Old Ways and by leading all the ceremonies that I am asked to lead. I am looking forward to seeing if my dream will come true. I am still very healthy at my old age. 793 558 156 829 [787]

The reason why I have quit going to ceremonies lately is because some of the People don't

A. [i.e., the name Apikayi or "skunk"--Analyst]

[P. 334-B]

treat me good. Some from Gleichen [North Blackfoot] asked me to lead the Medicine Lodge ceremony that they were going to give down here last summer. I told them that I would, because my relatives on both sides took part in Medicine Lodge ceremonies in the Old Days. One time I was in a restaurant in town and Wolf Old Man [our Old Man] came in and saw me. He came over and asked if it was true that I was going to lead the Okan. I told him it was. Then, right in front of everybody, he told me that I had no right to lead that ceremony and that I didn't know enough about it and might hurt others who were taking part in it. But that isn't true. I know most of the songs from it and I know what to do to lead it. He's just mad because his brother [Crow-Spreads-His-Wings] used to lead them and he studied for a long time before he could do it. I can open a Beaver Bundle, too, even though I never had one. My father had one and my wife's father [Tough Bread] had one and I learned the songs from them.

The reason my songs are different from everybody else's is that I had a different Teacher. Most of the ones who lead the Medicine Pipe ceremonies learned their songs from Heavy Head, but I learned them from Tough Bread. I'm the only one still living who learned them from him, so I'm the only one who sings them that way.

The reason why I sell my things is because I believe in the Old Ways. In the Old Days, when the Old People were asked for something holy they always gave it, they never held back, and I am the same way. The white men sometimes want the holy things much more than an Indian will want it, so I let them have it to make them happy. The Crow Beaver Bundle that I sold was not being used any longer by the People. My sons sold the Medicine Pipe and the Horns Society Bundle. They didn't ask me about it before they did it, so I am not to blame for that. I always pray for my family and for anyone that needs my prayers. I am not stingy with them. The Creator

hears my prayers whether I say them at a Night-time ceremony or at the Catholic Church or during a Full Gospel meeting. I am not shy to pray any place. That is how I live.

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MARK OLD SHOES

Mark Old Shoes, or Rusty Boy, is probably the youngest and healthiest of our Old People. He is learning to lead some of the ceremonies, mainly our Nighttime ceremonies and Medicine Pipe Bundle openings. He is also head Weather Dancer on the Blood Reserve, in case there is ever another Medicine Lodge ceremony.

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Mark's father was the famous warrior Morning Writing, who was registered on the agency rolls by his earlier name, Old Shoes. Morning Writing raised his children in the Old Way and did not allow them to go to school. When Mark was twelve years old, his father died and he was sent off to school, where they forced him to cut his braids. Since then he has always worn short hair.

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Mark has been a member of the Horns Society three times, once as a bachelor and twice with his wife. The first time he joined as partner to the Owner of one of the leaders' staffs. At later times he owned the Staff-with-a-Rattle and the Headdress-with-an-Arrow-in-Front. As he looked through the photographs of past scenes he had some comments: "I find it strange how much everything has changed. For instance, in those days the Old People all allowed their pictures to be taken at the Sun Dance. Now, if anyone is seen with a camera, the Horns will sure get after him."

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Like many of our Old People, Mark has much faith in the new Horns to help keep our Old Ways alive. He has said, "I think that as long as the new Horns really believe in what they are doing, our Old Ways will keep going. Young people didn't care much about the Old Ways, lately, when it was just us Old People. But now a lot of young people are thinking about trying to join us.

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[P. 335-B]